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reason valueless. It represents the ideal towards which the Lepchas strive and to which they attempt to mould their children, and it is in the deviations from this imposed stereotype that the greater number of psychological difficulties for the Lepchas arise. As such it has preponderating weight in the formation of individual character, and constitutes a point of reference from which deviation can be measured.

Deviations fall into two groups, negative and positive; people may lack some characteristic or qualification called for by the cultural stereotype; or they may manifest characteristics and types of behaviour which exaggerate cultural characteristics, or they may have temperamental qualities definitely opposed to the cultural stereotype. Judged by such rigorous standards there is probably nobody who is not slightly deviant. There are, however, two people in Lingthem, Chala Mandal and Tafoor, in whom I could discern no temperamental cause for psychological discomfort. Both had reasons for a certain distress, but they were external ones; the Mandal was unhappy because he had no son, Tafoor, I think, slightly disappointed because he had neither the wealth nor position of his late father the Muktair. These two people practically embodied the Lepcha ideal, the Mandal for the layman and Tafoor for the lama; Tafoor's household also approached more nearly than any other to the Lepcha ideal.

Owing to the Lepchas' great tolerance of—or rather indifference, to—shades of character, the maladjusted tend to be sociotic[1] rather than neurotic deviants. The only temperament type to which the Lepchas manifest constant opposition is the aggressive and domineering personality; the person who wishes to domineer or to command is constantly thwarted; to paraphrase Saki's epigram, there may be people born to command among the Lepchas, but they never find anybody born to obey them. The most outstanding of these aggressive characters were Tempa, who was described in Chapter Five,[2] and Kurma, whose story is given at length in the next chapter. It is worth noting that these two are also sociotically maladjusted; Tempa is a foreigner from outside Zongu, reared in a mixed community, and living under the slightly humiliating condition of resident son-in-law (*komok myok*); Kurma was adopted by an elderly couple as a little boy, was very unhappy

[1] This term was first used by Dr. Moreno to distinguish socially maladjusted from temperamentally maladjusted people.

[2] See pp. 124–126.

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'He would like to be wealthy and have lots of good food and clothes. He thinks he would like to go to live at Gangtok where he has been three or four or five times. (Numbers always confuse him; in any question demanding a numerical answer he always gives a number of alternatives—an exaggeration of a cultural trait.)

'The first time he wandered away he went to his uncle Songpo; he "thought he would be angry if he did not go and help them with their *work*." He still thinks that he has to go and help people or they will be angry.

'When he asked Chimpet if he had killed a bird he first of all denied having done so himself and then said that he had killed no big animal but has caught birds in snares. He showed little interest in this; did not care if the birds were caught alive or dead; apparently of no emotional importance.

'All through the interview—I reverted to the subject of his wanderings several times, but never stressed it—there came up the obsessive connection between wandering and helping others with their *work*. "I go away to help others clean the ground and sow and then it gets dark and I stay there. As long as I help others others will help me." His aversion to sex also came up several times. It is worth noting that Kanden exceptionally had no *oongop* to educate him sexually. It is possible that such a relation might have quieted his fear of women. Of course there are a number of women with whom he had a theoretical right to sleep, but none who were in a position to make a direct approach.'

I have given this interview at such length because it seems to me to raise a problem of particular interest. As far as I can tell from this interview with Kanden, from casual contacts with Asang's idiot son, and from the description of other wanderers given by Lepchas, there would appear to be considerable parallels between the Lepcha wanderers and the schizophrenics of our own culture. The parallels between 'wandering' and schizophrenia appear to me to be the following: the symptoms nearly always declare themselves in the second decade of life, after an apparently normal childhood; there are some physical abnormalities—the excess of body hair and a certain thickening of the features; there is the low or absent sexual impulse; there is the relative immobility and the very confidential voice. On the other hand what is for the Lepchas the most significant feature of all is the motiveless wandering, which has more obvious resemblance to a compulsion neurosis than to schizophrenia.

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Also there do not seem to be any hallucinations (the hearing of devils cannot be so classified, as it is part of the expected behaviour of every child), nor, save during the wandering fits, any change of emotional attitude towards the members of the immediate family.

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It seems to me possible that the forms of insanity clinically recognised are culturally determined; and in that case the state of affairs which in Occidental societies would produce either schizophrenia or compulsion neurosis, among the Lepchas produces the various syndromes of which the wandering is the most obvious feature. In the case of Kanden it is noteworthy that the cultural stress on co-operation has produced what would appear to be a feeling of neurotic anxiety so strong that it interferes with the individual's proper performance of his own work. This suggestion of the cultural determination of the symptoms of insanity is inevitably completely tentative, since I know of no other records of definitely abnormal types in non-European cultures.

[p.378 is blank]

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Amputation of 'ingzong'.

'At Lik I had an "*ingzong*" called Kangbo. Kangbo had his hand crushed under a rock in the jungle and was left for three days before he was found. I was away at the time at Gangtok with Datoop who was doing carpentry work; I was helping him. I returned thirteen days after the accident and found Kangbo in tears from the pain; the whole of the forearm was festering and full of pus and stinking. Kangbo asked me what to do and I suggested cutting the septic arm off. I did not know what to do but just did what I thought best. First of all I tied up the arm very tightly above the elbow; then I put fire on his hand to make sure he was without feeling there and then cut off the arm with my sharp knife.' (*Kurma dwelt on this incident with a very great deal of obvious relish, pointing out on himself exactly how he performed the operation and repeating and repeating the story.*)[15] 'After amputation Kangbo against my advice undid the binding and lost a cupful of blood; he did this because he was in considerable pain. He is alive to-day.'

Kurma has also at different times cut open boils with a sharp knife. Once when he was cleaning cardamum a snake bit his finger; he first of all killed the snake with his knife and then cut open his finger; he still has the scar. He says he has no fear of blood or corpses and would not be frightened to open a corpse; he is rather scornful of the Mandal who was frightened even of the corpses of his wife and parents.

Rape of a little girl.

When Kurma was twenty he raped the girl who is now the wife of Dajou; she was eight or nine at the time. At first he could not get his penis in but was able to by the use of saliva. The girl bled and cried a good deal (*he recounted this with considerable vivacity and relish*); she did not say anything when she went home and recovered completely in ten days; at the end of that period Kurma asked her to sleep with him again and she consented. This girl has since been married nine years; she is childless. There is apparently little slur attached to such an act; if it was witnessed it would merely be a subject for joking; it happens relatively frequently. Kurma says

[15] Kurma has obvious sadistic leanings and dwells on and elaborates all incidents which gratify these; he is badly served in this culture.